

ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

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sites in which lived their ancestors for many generations. These house sites bear individual Nahuatl names¹ by which addresses are given; street names are rarely used. When, therefore, an individual comes from without a *barrio* and rents a house there, he does not thereby become a member of that *barrio*. Lists given of *barrio* members often omit the occupants of certain houses, and these always turn out to be houses rented by outsiders, or, in a few cases, houses owned and occupied by members of other *barrios*. 621
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[427]

This latter case leads to the point that there are living in every *barrio* certain families that are known to belong to a *barrio* other than that in which they live.² This probably came about when an ancestor bought a site in some other *barrio*. In these cases the entire family must have moved, leaving no one in the old *barrio* to continue the membership there. Of course a man may and probably frequently does change his *barrio* membership by changing his *barrio* residence. This may come about if a father with several sons buys for one or more of them a house site in another *barrio*. The son, usually the oldest, who re-

¹ Such names are: *Tzot*, "place of birds"; *Tlatelilticpac*, "on top of the slope"; *Tecuantlan*, "place of wolves"; *Tlancahican*, "place of tortillas"; *Techichilco*, "red stone"; *Ixtapa*, "place of salt"; *Tropanixpa*, "in front of the church." Some are hybrid terms, as: *Pulquetlan*, "place of pulque"; *Cruznepanihyan*, "place of crossed crosses." A typical contemporary Nahuatl toponymy is to be found in Gamio, *La población del valle de San Juan Teotihuacan*, Tomo II, Vol. II, pp. 649 ff.

² One of the writer's informants, living in Los Reyes, belonged to La Santísima, although neither she nor any other informant could tell at what time the family had moved. In Los Reyes there are five families from La Santísima, two from San Miguel, and three from Santa Cruz.

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family life. Traditionally, the married son continues to live with his father until the next son marries, after which the older son may set up his own house or at least establish his own kitchen. However, the present tendency in the village is for the young couple to become independent as soon as possible, often after one or two years. In fact, many of the younger generation would prefer to set up their own house immediately after marriage and those who have the wherewithal do so. The majority of the cases under Type II and all in Types III and IV are multiple families each with their separate kitchens and separate budgets.

Although residence is preferably patrilocal, there are twenty-six cases of married daughters living with the parents. About one-third of these cases include the daughters' husbands, the others are either widows, abandoned wives, or women who have separated from their husbands. There are only eight families in which more than one married son and daughter continue to live with their parents, again indicating the few cases of large extended families living together. Cases of married siblings living with their families are also few.

Because of the absence of the custom of renting houses, it is unusual to find unrelated families living on the same house site. The five cases indicated in Table II were those in which an unused house on a house site was loaned to a family or a newly wed couple without a home.

Under "Miscellaneous Composition" we have included those cases which did not fall under our classifications. A variety of types are covered by this category. For example, cases of an old widowed brother and sister; a widow and son plus the family of her deceased husband's nephew; parents with the first and second wives of their dead son and his children, with a widowed daughter, and with a daughter separated from her husband.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In Tepoztlán, as in most peasant societies, the family is the basic cooperative unit of production, and each member is expected to contribute to its support and welfare. The biological family seeks to be independent and self-sufficient. There are no institutionalized day-to-day cooperative endeavors between families, and normally little aid is given or received. Nevertheless, some mutual assistance between families exists in the form of borrowing and labor exchange. For example, a man who owns a small parcel of land but no plow-oxen may arrange to work as a *peón* for an uncle, brother, *compadre*, or neighbor, in exchange for the plowing of his own land. But there is a minimum of such cooperation, for Tepoztecos are essentially individualists.

Most work, whether it be agriculture, trade, or some special occupation, is carried on individually rather than cooperatively. Even within the family the division of labor is such that each individual does a separate task instead of working together on the same task. For example, the mother may do all the marketing, one daughter may wash all the clothes, another daughter may grind all the corn. Although such a division of labor may seem quite natural, it contrasts with that

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequil* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequil*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapel in repair.

One chief occasion for the *cuatequil* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequil* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water fountains were built in this way. The *cuatequil* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecos need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecán character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecos are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecos now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecos, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecán laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecos consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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TABLE 24. Distribution of *Ejidat* by Size of Plot, 1944.423
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Barrio	Hectares						Total
	0-1		1-2		2-3		
	No. of Ejido Plots	Percent- age of Ejido Plots	No. of Ejido Plots	Percent- age of Ejido Plots	No. of Ejido Plots	Percent- age of Ejido Plots	
San Miguel	17	27.87	37	60.66	7	11.47	61
La Santísima	6	15.38	33	84.62			39
Santo Domingo	37	39.21	60	58.82	2	1.97	99
Santa Cruz (large)	10	41.67	12	50.00	2*	8.33	24
Los Reyes	3	45.45	6	54.55			11
San Sebastián	9	60.00	6	40.00			15
San Pedro	3	37.50	5	62.50			8
Santa Cruz (small)	3	30.00	7	70.00			10
Tepoztlán	90	33.70	166	62.17	11	4.49	267

TABLE 25. Distribution of Privately Owned Lands and *Ejido* Parcels by Families, 1944.

Barrio	Total No. of Families	No. of Families Who Own Private Land	No. of Families Who Hold <i>Ejidat</i>	No. of Families Who Own Private Land and Hold <i>Ejidat</i>	No. of Families Who Have Neither Private nor <i>Ejido</i> Land
San Miguel	214	59	37	24	94
La Santísima	185	46	23	16	100
Santo Domingo	223	24	62	37	100
Santa Cruz (large)	82	29	9	15	29
Los Reyes	49	23	4	7	15
San Sebastián	42	9	13	2	18
Santa Cruz (small)	36	9	9	1	17
San Pedro	22	3	1	7	11
Tepoztlán	853	202	158	109	384

RENTAL OF LAND

Land is rented both on a cash and corn basis, depending upon the owner's choice. Rental agreements may be made on a verbal or a written basis. In 1947, a twelve-*cuartillo* plot of fair land rented for about 50 centavos a *cuartillo*, the value in corn would be about 150 to 200 pesos. Widows, who regularly rent out their land, generally ask for payment in corn. Despite the land shortage in Tepoztlán, more land is sometimes available for rent than there are people to rent it. This is primarily due to the lack of capital. Many families own no oxen, and very few can afford to pay for the rental of oxen in addition to the rental of land. And there is always the risk of a poor crop. In cases of crop failure, renters are supposed to make good, but many simply break their contracts. This leads to quarrels but rarely to legal action.

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- 427 A man who pays his rent despite crop failure earns the reputation of being *may honrado* (very honorable) and is sought as a renter.

There is no sharecropping as such in Tepoztlán. When rental is in corn, there is a fixed quantity of corn agreed upon in advance, rather than a percentage of the crop. The landowner, therefore, takes little risk.

LAND VALUES

- 423 The price of most agricultural lands, that is, the lands which Tepoztecos classify as second and third class, has increased more slowly than other lands, as can be seen in Table 26. During and immediately after the Revolution of 1910-20, land prices fell sharply. Many sold their land at any price in order to stave off starvation, and land parcels changed hands for a small quantity of corn. Since 1920, land prices have been rising steadily. This rise was accentuated by the new road which, with the influx of tourists who have sought land for summer homes, has made for a phenomenal rise in the price of house sites in the village. Distance from the road and from the central plaza, and proximity to one of the twenty-six water fountains, are the most important factors affecting the price of land.

TABLE 26. Land Prices From 1901 to 1944.

Year	Cost of House Sites (in Pesos)		Cost of Arable Land per Hectare (in Pesos)	
	10 to 500 Meters From Water Fountains	500 or More Meters From Water Fountains	Poorest Land	Best Land
1901-1910	60	40	40	60
1911-1920	30	15	10	20
1921-1926	40	25	25	100
1927-1930	70	50	60	150
1931-1935	100	75	120	200
1936-1940	175	125	200	400
1941	300	250	350	450
1942	500	300	400	500
1943	1,000	400	450	800
1944	2,000	1,000	500	1,000

- 423 The change in the Tepoztec attitudes toward selling land to outsiders is one of the most interesting of all changes in the village. Until about 1942, Tepoztecos were very reluctant to sell their land to outsiders. A leading Mexican banker who wanted to build his home in the village had to negotiate for over a year before he could succeed in buying a modest-sized, idle plot of land whose Tepoztec owner had been residing in Mexico City for many years. Similarly, one of my assistants had to wait for months before she was able to find a plot of land, and then she could only buy one at a considerable distance from the center.

When I returned to the village three years later, a change had occurred; Tepoz-

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Fig. 23. Tepoztecs, returning home from work.

is practiced by necessity, for the fields cease to produce after the first few years; in plow culture, the same fields may be planted year after year until the soil is completely exhausted.

Tlacolol is essentially geared to production for subsistence, while plow culture is better geared to production for the market. It is significant that most families who work *tlacolol* are landless and that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as the last resort of the poor. However, farmers who own small plots of land may also work some *tlacolol* to supplement their meager income. Indeed, in the past few years a new trend is occurring in the village because of inflation. Tepoztecs who own considerable private land now rent it out or let it rest, and themselves work in *tlacolol*. This is resented by most *tlacololeros*, who believe that the communal lands should serve the landless. The attitude of the *tlacololeros* is better understood in the light of the fact that the communal lands are becoming exhausted and can no longer support the present-day population.

Other differences between *tlacolol* and plow culture include the cycles of work, the tools, the type of corn, the work techniques, and even the terminology. Gen-

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of the oxen were killed during the Revolution; and in the early twenties, and donkeys were used and are still used by some of the poorer families. Tepoztecos buy most of their oxen in the nearby state of Guerrero and the southern part of the state of Morelos. By 1944 there were 179 oxen teams in the village. (See Table 28.)

It can be seen from this table that only 57 per cent of the landowners own oxen. In general, those barrios which have a higher percentage of larger holdings show a higher number of families owning plows and oxen. In Tepoztlán it is considered uneconomical for a farmer with only a few hectares to own oxen. Furthermore, the high cost of oxen makes it impossible for most Tepoztecos to own any, and teams may be rented by the day or the season. (See Table 29.)

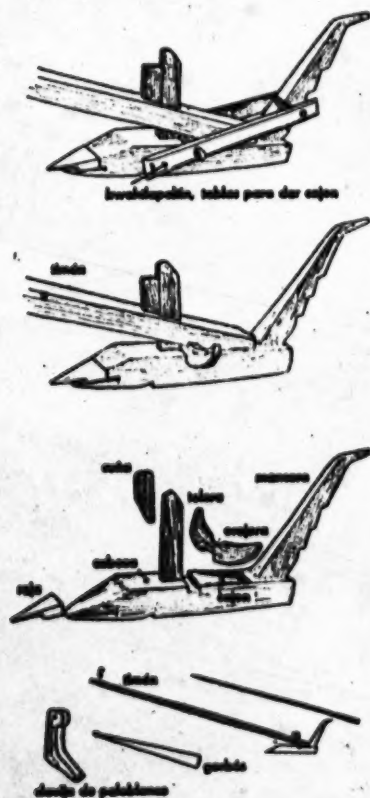


Fig. 24. The wooden plow.



Fig. 25. The steel plow.

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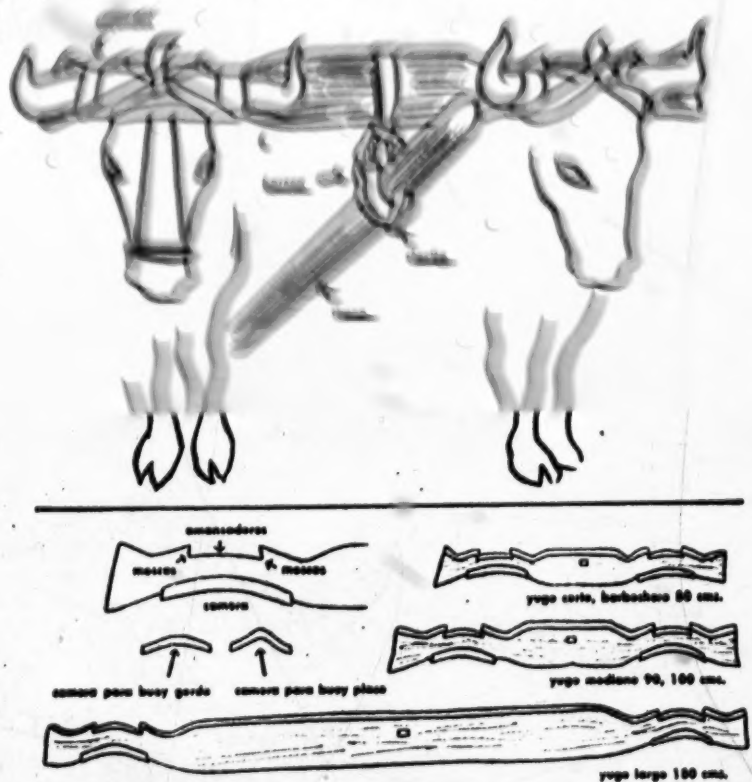


Fig. 26. Oxen and yoke.

[435] The cost of oxen quoted in Table 29 refers to that paid in Guerrero. The cost in
 [439] Tepoztlán was then considerably higher; today there is relatively little local buy-
 ing and selling of oxen. For a long time, trips to Guerrero were considered
 dangerous, and the few who made such trips did so at considerable risk—and profit.
 427 When oxen are rented for three months, the renter must assume full responsi-
 492 bility and agree to give the animals good care. In case they are injured, the renter
 must pay full damages. A man who rents oxen enjoys the privilege of using them
 for custom work. From June to August, it is estimated that a team of oxen will
 work seventy-eight days. The small variation in rental price, when paid in corn,
 must be considered in the light of changes in corn prices from 1926 to 1944, an
 increase from twelve centavos per *cuartillo*^a to sixty centavos.

[435]
 [804]

^a A *cuartillo* is equal to two liters in Tepoztlán.

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TABLE 11. Distribution of Ownership of Plots, Cows, and Land, 1941

Owner	Families Owning Plots	Families Owning Cows	Families Owning Land
San Miguel	10	10	10
San Juan	10	10	10
San Antonio	10	10	10
San Pedro	10	10	10
San Mateo	10	10	10
San Marcos	10	10	10
San Juan (small)	10	10	10
San Pedro	10	10	10
Total	100	100	100

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107
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621

TABLE 12. Distribution of Ownership of Plots, Cows, and Land, 1941

Year	Cost of Oxen ^a	Oxen per Day (With Driver)	ACRES OF OXEN per Three Months		Wages of Peón per Day
			In Corn ^b	In Pesos	
1926-30	60.00	1.50	6	40.00	50
1936	70.00	2.30	8	75.00	1 00
1940	100.00	3.25	8	125.00	1 25
1942	125.00	4.00	7	150.00	1 50
1943	200.00	5.00	7	190.00	1 90 2 00
1944 (April)	400.00	6.00	7	170.00	2 50 3 00
1944 (July)	400.00	7.50 10.00	7	200.00	3.00 3.50

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^a Cost in Guaranos.
^b By 100 cuartillos.

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

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The work cycle of plow culture in Tepoztlán is in four stages: preparation of the land, planting, cultivation, and harvest.

Preparation of Land: In discussing the preparation of the land, we must distinguish between breaking new land, or land that has been idle for a number of years, and preparing land that was under cultivation the year before. In the former case the process is referred to as the *barbecho* (breaking of new land); in the latter as *los tres arados* (the three plowings). The system of plowing used in each case differs considerably. Some Tepoztecos begin their first *barbecho* in the dry or slack season, generally in March. However, at this time the earth is parched and hard, and plowing is difficult and slow. For this reason, farmers prefer to break new land during the rainy season, generally in August, in preparation for the following year. If the weeds are tall and strong they are cut with a machete, piled up to dry, and are burned.^a It takes a man about three days to clear a heavily

[221]

^a The most stubborn weeds are known as *sacate chino*. These have deep roots, and if the field is heavily weeded it is necessary to plow in January and again in March. The older men say that this weed came in after the Revolution.

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of a number of steps is higher every day which also have been going down the road. It is believed that a good structure could be kept down every day at long as two weeks.

However, the harvest procedures are very similar to that of plant culture, except that most discontinue to not transport the timber because the distances are too long, and it is considered uneconomical. Also most discontinue to not cut the trees down a house of leaves and must burn them.

Yields

Corn yields in newly cleared fields are high, much higher than yields in those cultures. A normal yield on a newly cleared plot of the soil is about two crops for each acre of corn planted, and even three crops can be obtained. The yields decrease very markedly the second year, and most crops are then abandoned for a new clearing because of the reduction in the yield of the second year. The yield is estimated to be about one-tenth of the yield of the first year.

PRODUCTION TIME AND COST

An estimation of the time required in the production of corn in *tiaralol* must take into consideration both the *tiaral* and the *cerro* plantings because of the variations within each. Table 36 compares the approximate number of man-days spent on each operation in both types of *tiaralol*.

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TABLE 36. Estimated Time Spent in Production of Corn in *Tiaralol*, 1944.

Operation	Man-Days Spent in <i>Tiaralol</i> Clearing	
	<i>Tiaral</i> (10 Cuartillas)	<i>Cerro</i> (7 Cuartillas)
Clearing with machete and ax	40	21
Fencing with poles	12	20
Burning	8	1
Sowing with maize	12	7
Receding	4	2
Weeding by hand	30	40
Repairing fence	—	40
Transporting corn	12	8
Shelling corn (15 cargas)	10	15
	15	7
Total	143	161

Despite the fact that our sample from the *cerro tiaralol* is a smaller plot, it took thirty-eight days to work it. Taking into consideration differences in the size of

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industry. The people concerned with these concerns were back to the school period when only teaching one of the things were allowed to take a horse.

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is an horse and four mules.

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepoztlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller raising of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs make hog ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small percentage of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large percentage of poor families. This may be explained by the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have a hindrance to many of the hogs in making long-distance travel.

tically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepoztlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village.

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947.

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow-oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 500 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 182½

* For documents on this point see *Indice*, Vol. 4, Exp. 398.

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For public consumption. They are dropped or have sunk and they continued to use whatever they found in the market. They are not used, then, as techniques, by the way, we were generally at the place in the morning when the market was open. If there were no market we stayed at night. We generally arrived in the morning and the following morning had work out from the market. 139

Some local village trade still occurs at the time of harvest and village fairs. However, Tepoztecan trading contacts seem to have become limited for the most part to Cuernavaca. Visiting at one time the big market for much of Tepoztecan produce has now failed to compare with the role of Cuernavaca. 141

The circulation of goods and money in Tepoztlán is generally weak but it varies considerably with the seasonal cycle. It is lowest during the months of May, June, July, and August, which is a period of scarcity. The most rapid circulation of goods and money occurs during the months of September, October, and November. 142

Perhaps the most important single occasion for spending during the year is at the Carnival, which comes in February after the harvest. I have estimated that approximately 50,000 pesos are spent by the villagers for the Carnival. It is an occasion for buying new clothes, but the largest expense is for the elaborate costumes of the Chinelo dancers. A costume in 1947 cost as much as 800 pesos, and there were 45 dancers from the three competing barrios. Of course most of the costumes are used from year to year, but there is always the expense of repairing and improving them. Some people rent the costumes. The food expense is also great; musicians from each of the competing barrios are fed by the leading families in the barrio. In addition, most families entertain on this day. 527

The tourist trade has brought some income to Tepoztlán, especially to storekeepers, vendors of soft drinks, and the owners of the two tourist houses, but most of the money spent by these Tepoztecs goes to Cuernavaca. 457

The other important occasions for spending in Tepoztlán are the barrio fiestas, the gifts for *compadres* at baptisms, the expenses of the groom in weddings, and the expenses for the wakes and funerals. 485

There are a few corn merchants in the village who speculate in corn by buying in small quantities throughout the year to sell at higher prices during June to September. Speculation in corn is apparently an old practice in the village, for as early as 1579 we find complaints of Tepoztecs against price fixing by local politicians. Some of the corn merchants will make loans on the future corn crop and will be paid back in corn at the time of harvest. 442

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

There are no organized credit facilities in Tepoztlán. Although a few hundred Tepoztecs have had *ejido* parcels since 1930, no *ejido* credit has come to the village. It is said that an effort had been made at one time to obtain such credit but 452

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353 nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

251 The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. 343 Redfield describes these as follows:

The storehouse (*S. troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (*S. mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolotli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.*

[178] The *cuezcomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

404 The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses 511 otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

[556] Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I-C, and 10 per cent of Groups I-A and I-B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I-A and I-B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[422] [294] [426] [427] [594] * Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33-34.

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177 aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women
 511 sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there
 [265] were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some
 [275] homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene
 or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one
 home had overstuffed furniture.

But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a
 [161] result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800
 [362] in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecs petitioned
 the local government to make available some of the nearby communal
 lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the
 village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent
 [427] a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager
 to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since
 177 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has
 [759] come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been
 increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a
 [278] month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecs now complain about the
 expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in
 Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few
 [743] patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic
 [744] which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections.
 [751] About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day.
 In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were
 given.

177 The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*,
 757 however. Tepoztecs believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases,
 753 and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los*
 [759] *aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still
 [844] attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness
 thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were
 not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old
 concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals
 or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether
 this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about
 the causes of disease.

177 Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tep-
 241 oztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation
 [312] projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has
 [377] been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been intro-
 [464] duced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few
 are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agri-
 [314] culture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecs
 to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gain-
 fully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of